Negative Campaign Presidential Election 2019  
On Indonesia National Integration  

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Abstract: The election of the President is very important because it opens opportunities for the people to actively participate in electing candidates for the President, therefore elections are a form of democracy. Every election has certainly held a campaign in an effort to introduce candidates to the President and get the hearts of the people. In the campaign, there are many ways that can be done, including conducting a campaign with a dialogical approach, face to face with the people with an enlightening and quality political education agenda. In the campaign it is often found that each team successfully conveys a negative campaign through a variety of political statements and methods that are expressed in provocative languages, sarcastic, and blasphemous by expressing each other’s ugliness or deficiencies in order to bring down opponents, as well as various tricks to get sympathy and support from the people. With the many negative campaign forms, it raises the question of whether there is an influence that has been made on Indonesia’s national integration. This study uses a normative juridical method with conceptual and statutory approaches. The results of this study that the negative campaign that occurred during the 2019 Presidential election tended to result in political polarization within the community, due to a strong commitment to each of the presidential candidates, giving rise to Indonesia’s national disintegration.

Keywords: negative campaign, presidential election, national integration

1. INTRODUCTION  

DEMOCRACY comes from the word demos which means people, and cratein which means government, then democracy is a government by people where the highest power is in the hands of the people and carried out directly or indirectly on the basis of a system of representation (Azed, 2000). Democracy according to the origin of the word means “people in power” or “government or rule by the people” (Budiardjo, 2008). Democracy is a term used in a system of government. Many other terms have also emerged by adding to the label of the word democracy, such as people’s democracy, guided democracy, liberal democracy, proletarian democracy, and Pancasila democracy, with the nature of democracy and different mechanisms of democracy (Fadjar, 2013). One manifestation of democracy itself is the existence of general elections (hereinafter referred to as elections). Election is a step to start a power because the election results are determined by the people’s choice. So that a campaign needs to be held as an effort to get people’s hearts. Many methods are carried out such as with a dialogical approach, face to face with the people with an enlightening and quality political education agenda. It aims to avoid horizontal conflicts that may arise later, and do not attack political opponents with negative campaigns that ply and mislead. Such political campaigns are considered not elegant and do not educate civilized societies. Thus, such political campaigns should not be given space in the community who still want to maintain harmony and peace. Politics are insinuated by the candidates and their success team is nothing but to gain votes during the presidential election. Based on the aforementioned matters, researchers are encouraged to conduct research on the influence of the negative Presidential election 2019 campaign on Indonesia’s national integration.

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2. THE FORM OF NEGATIVE CAMPAIGN 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN INDONESIA

Democratic election standards state that honest and fair elections can be achieved if there are legal instruments that regulate all the processes of holding elections, while being able to protect the organizers, participants, candidates, voters, monitors and citizens in general from fear, intimidation, violence, bribery, fraud and various other fraudulent practices that will affect the election results (Norris, 2013). Therefore, elections require electoral legislation and officials tasked with enforcing the election regulations. During the election, we know the campaign terms. Etymologically the campaign word comes from French, which is “campaign” which means field, military operation. According to Rogers and Storey, a campaign is a series of planned communication actions with the aim of creating a certain effect or effect on the audience in large numbers and carried out continuously at certain times. Even at certain times, the process of implementing the campaign is very often not in accordance with the regulations that have been regulated by the election organizer (Rogers and Storey, 2015). Election campaigns according to Article 267 paragraph (1) of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections (hereinafter referred to as the Election Law) are part of the community’s political education and are carried out responsibly. In carrying out the campaign, the pairs of candidates for President and Vice President form a national campaign team, which is tasked with arranging all activities in the campaign stages and is responsible for all the technical implementation of the campaign. The election campaign material for the President and Vice President includes delivering the vision, mission and programs that will be carried out.

The campaign method stipulated in Article 275 paragraph (1) of the Election Law covers the following activities:

a. Limited meetings.

b. Face to face meeting.

c. Dissemination of election campaign material to the public.

d. Installation of teaching aids in public places.

e. Print mass media advertising, electronic and internet mass media.

f. General meeting.

g. Debating the candidate pair about the candidate pair
h. Other activities that do not violate election campaign bans and statutory provisions.

The General Election Commission (KPU) as an election organizer in Indonesia issued a regulation called the KPU Regulation (PKPU). PKPU as a legislation that clearly has a position in the hierarchy of laws and regulations. PKPU is recognized and has binding legal force, so that it has consequences or consequences for every community or institution associated with PKPU (Herawati, Sukma, & Hananto, 2019). PKPU Number 33 of 2018 concerning the Second Amendment to the General Election Commission Regulation Number 23 of 2018 concerning the General Election Campaign, containing further arrangements regarding the implementation of campaigns which have previously been regulated in Article 280 paragraph (1) of the Election Law concerning prohibition on campaigns. Article 69 paragraph (1) PKPU Number 33 of 2018 states that the implementers, participants and election campaign teams are prohibited from:

1. Questioning the basic state of Pancasila, the opening of the 1945 constitution of the republic of Indonesia, and the form of the unitary state of the republic of Indonesia.
2. Carry out activities that endanger the integrity of the unitary state of the republic of Indonesia.
3. Insulting someone, religion, ethnicity, race, class, candidate and/or other election participants.
4. Inciting and pitting individual or society.
5. Disturbing public order.
6. Threatens to commit violence or advocate the use of violence against someone, a group of community members, and/or other election participants.
7. Damage and/or eliminate the election participant campaign props.
8. Use government facilities, places of worship, and places of education.
9. Use government representative building facilities abroad.
10. Bring or use image marks and/or attributes other than the image marks and/or attributes of the relevant election participants
11. Promises or gives money or other material to campaign participants.

In an electoral contest, all forms of campaigns, both positive campaigns and negative campaigns are often carried out by each candidate and his supporters who want to win the election. Positive campaigns are campaigns where a candidate focuses primarily on relevant issues, their own views, their own experiences, and their own virtues, without attacking their opponents in an effort to get a vote (Gregory, 2015). Negative campaign is common in many countries including in Indonesia. In contrast to positive campaigns, negative campaigns are campaigns where a candidate uses attack and rhetorical advertisements to intentionally frame his opponent as an incompetent, inexperienced, irresponsible person, as a means to show himself better than the other side. Political contestants use negative campaigns as a tool to lower the positive side of their opponents and demobilize voters from other parties. However this strategy has the potential to backfire for him, because voters can see the negative side of the contestant as well (Peterson & Djupe, 2005). The existence of a negative campaign is widely believed by campaign strategists, can succeed in holding elections later, because it can only present all the reasons why voters must choose one candidate by presenting reasons why voters may not choose the opposing party. Negative campaigns are divided into three categories (Ferguson, 1997):

1. Fair. All statements issued regarding factual events that show negative attributes of opponents to humiliate opponents before the public. The shape can be abrasive, humble words, phrases, or images.
2. Fake. All statements that are incorrect with the malicious intention of the maker to bring down the opponent. False statements can be challenged to prove if this statement contains an incorrect statement.
3. Deceiving. All statements that tend to be misleading and distort the truth about the other party. And the best way to deal with this deceptive statement is to prove it because the purpose of this statement from the outset was to deceive and distort the truth of political opponents. So that the community considers the opponent to be bad and inappropriate to be chosen.

Grouping the types of campaigns is negative according to Cleveland Ferguson, in the second and third categories also known as black campaigns. Some examples of negative campaigns that occurred during the campaign for the presidential election in 2019 are as follows:

1. Negative Campaign aimed at Jokowi-Ma’ruf
   a. Jokowi’s propaganda is anti-Islamic, Jokowi is pro-foreign
   b. Video showing three women who mentioned that if Jokowi was elected for two periods there was no call to prayer, no one would wear a veil, and similar marriage would be permitted.
   c. Pictured photos of Jokowi-Ma’ruf in contraceptive products that still relate to slander that Jokowi-Ma’ruf supports LGBT.
   d. The hoaxes carried out by Ratna Sarumpaet were victims of persecution so her face was bruised by supporters of Jokowi-Ma’ruf.
   e. The leaflet “Say No Jokowi-Ma’ruf” with the words “Promise is debt, many promises, lots of debt too” then there is the writing #2019gantipresiden.

2. Negative Campaign aimed at Prabowo-Sandi
   a. The presentation of Boyolali’s face that had been uttered by Prabowo during the inauguration of the building of the Prabowo-Sandi National Winning Body which was considered insulting the citizens of Boyolali who might be expelled if they entered a luxury hotel because it was not a rich person.
   b. Sandiaga’s behavior which is considered unethical when stepping over the tomb of the founder of Nahdatul Ulama (NU) KH. Biri Syansuri who did not fit the title of “santri post-Islamism” addressed to Sandiaga.
   c. A picture of Prabowo’s meme, a widower, who is seen as leading the family alone cannot even lead the country.
   d. Prabowo is still related to the new order, because his ex-wife is Suharto’s son.
   e. Prabowo was once dismissed as a TNI, for...

Negative campaigns are always related to actions or ways that candidates who want to win elections by attacking the other party rather than emphasizing the positive side of themselves and their policies (Mark, 2009). Negative campaigns that have occurred during the 2019 Presidential Election campaign as mentioned above, consist of various types of criticism, utterances of hatred, and hoaxes, which are carried out by a candidate against other candidates, and/or supporters, during the campaign period. Negative campaign is a form of campaign that emphasizes weaknesses or deficiencies in opposing arguments, behavior, personality and ability to govern both the past and future. Negative campaigns are currently widely circulating on social media and this is indeed difficult to contain, because these activities are mostly carried out on the internet. It is difficult to find proof, because electronic data is relatively very easy to change, tapping, falsifying and disseminating in seconds, and there is no period of calm on social media campaigns. All people easily receive negative campaign coverage, and they easily spread it continuously until the election ends. The government needs to collaborate with various parties to oversee the content that is spread on social media. Awareness and ability to filter information received by users of social media is very important in preventing the spread of negative campaigns.

3 EFFECT OF NEGATIVE CAMPAIGN ON INDONESIAN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

If you want to get a quality election, one of the important things is to increase the practice of positive campaigns that are more dialogic in nature, that is, direct approaches to the community in accordance with the capacity of the intended community, because not all people have a uniform understanding of the meaning of the campaign. The urgency of a dialogical campaign is very educational, as well as enlightening the community regarding the vision and mission of the candidates, and is able to increase the electability of these candidates and their political parties. Meanwhile the campaign in the form of convoys or processions mobilized the masses, must be abandoned. Because this model campaign actually spends more funds, creates noise, vision and mission not conveyed effectively to the community, and especially can lead to horizontal conflict within the community. At this time there are many emerging models of creative campaigns. The model is very diverse depending on the creativity and intelligence of the campaign team of each political party carrying the presidential candidates. Creativity in the stage of promoting its presidential candidates becomes increasingly unique and diverse, both in making campaign props, as well as ways of delivering speeches in campaigns. Even today, with the progress of the era, social media and the internet are the main targets in campaigning. Because it spreads faster and is accepted by the campaign messages by everyone. Initially the campaign material was only about spreading the vision and mission and the programs that would be carried out by each candidate. But now, we see the campaign also filled with discussing the profiles of the opposing parties, regarding their weaknesses and shortcomings in the past. In addition, there are also various kinds of information that sometimes contain elements of hate speech, SARA, and slander against the opposing party, which are used to bring down political opponents in the community. So that in the end, the initial meaning of the campaign as a political education for the community, became shifted with the existence of these deviant campaigns. Deviations that occurred during the campaign period caused various conflicts among the government and society. Conflict among the government occurred because political actors became the main actors in the dispute. For example, the successful teams supporting each candidate argue and tease each other about the vision, mission and programs carried out, and about the past of the candidates. Even in the current campaign period, election organizers in Indonesia, namely the KPU RI accept various types of hoaxes spread on social media related to the independence of their institutions, including the following:

1. 7 container hoaxes containing sounds from China, which have already been printed and have been punched in the column for the candidates for Jokowi-Ma’ruf. Even though at that time the ballot printing period had not yet begun.

2. The KPU server hoax has set 57% to win Jokowi-Ma’ruf when the election results are later.

On the other hand, these political actors are faced with their responsibility to fulfill the needs of the community for a dialogical and positive campaign that is not well implemented. Political battles that occur in government circles are brought to heterogeneous societies from various circles. So that the main priority of campaign objectives for the needs of the people, is to be ruled out because of individual interests and interests of certain groups related to this presidential election. This certainly threatens Indonesia’s national integration. The conflict that initially occurred only in the government and political actors (vertical conflict), spread into conflict driven by the community itself (horizontal conflict). This horizontal conflict initially occurred because of the people’s political support for one of the presidential candidates who were believed to be capable and worthy of holding the position of President later. Various kinds of backgrounds and social levels that exist within Indonesian society, make the mindset and needs diverse. Thus, the people’s political choices are different from each other, according to their mindset and needs at that time. This conflict initiated by the community has the potential to cause divisions and cause national disintegration. Fanatical political support for one of the candidates raises a long and tough debate in the community itself. The debate was further aggravated by the existence of negative campaigns during the campaign period, and developed into a conflict, some of which emerged by offending certain tribes, religions, and races in society. The conflict that initially began with fighting on social media, developed into a fight approaching the election period. For example on April 2, 2019, or 15 days before the election took place, a young man was beaten to death by a mass group of supporters of the Prabowo-Sandi campaign on Purworejo Street because the young man was wearing a T-shirt with a picture of Jokowi-Ma’ruf. Based on the above, negative campaigns cause polarization in society, giving rise to national disintegration. The impact of negative campaigns is very diverse, and is substantial depending on the circumstances that exist in the community. The more heterogeneous the community is, the more complex conflicts that arise. Moreover, for ordinary people, they cannot filter out various kinds of negative campaigns that appear on the surface due to the lack of political education given to the
community, so that they are easily affected by existing conflicts (Fridkin & Kenney, 2011). Some electoral experts allow negative campaigns only for fair categories, which only describe the weaknesses of the opponents but based on the facts. In addition, it does not allow negative campaigns in fake and deceptive categories, because it only contains slander and is not supported by facts in the field. However, there are some election experts who do not allow and prohibit all forms of negative campaign categories, because a good campaign is only positive campaign as a means of political education for the community. Many debates that occur regarding whether or not there is a negative campaign, because until now there have not been any laws related to general elections which prohibit the practice of negative campaigns and categorize which negative campaigns are allowed, and which are not allowed. The lack of legal arrangements regarding negative campaigns raises uncertainty about the ongoing enforcement and supervision of elections. The opinions of various legal and electoral experts seem to open opportunities for political actors to use negative campaigns to bring down the opposing parties without regard to existing political ethics. This creates a new tradition of imaging politics and character assassination (Yonda, 2016). The political actors who compete in the presidential election contest will drop each other and make various issues regarding the opposing parties to get the people’s votes. The action is claimed to be a negative campaign that does not violate the rules of the campaign. It is the community that receives losses from this difference of perception. This is further aggravated by heterogeneous Indonesian society, causing some people to be polarized so that they are dragged into conflicts created by political actors to get the people’s votes. In the end, the aim of the campaign, which initially as a form of political education for the community, turned out to be the trigger for conflict in the community with the existence of this negative campaign.

4 CONCLUSION

Many debates that occur regarding whether or not there is a negative campaign, because until now there has not been a single law related to elections that prohibits the practice of negative campaigns and categorizes which are allowed, and which are not allowed. Negative campaign raises polarization in society, giving rise to national disintegration. The impact of negative campaigns is very diverse, and is substantial depending on the circumstances that exist in the community. The more heterogeneous the community is, the more complex conflicts that arise. Moreover, for ordinary people, they cannot filter out various kinds of negative campaigns that appear on the surface due to the lack of political education given to the community, so that they are easily affected by existing conflicts.

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